Regional Conflicts:

Threats to World Peace and Progress

FINAL REPORT

DPI/NGO Annual Conference, 9-11 September 1992
Organized by the NGO and Institutional Relations Section
Department of Public Information
In cooperation with the DPI/NGO Executive Committee
United Nations, New York

REGIONAL CONFLICTS:
THREATS TO WORLD PEACE AND PROGRESS

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United Nations

FOREWORD

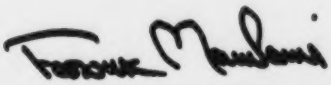
For the first time ever, the General Assembly Hall served as the venue for opening day proceedings of the Department of Public Information Annual Conference for Non-Governmental Organizations. Perhaps this was as good a reminder as any that the United Nations Charter opens with the words *"We the peoples of the United Nations..."*. Indeed, the end of the Cold War has witnessed a progressive empowerment of NGOs, as the voice of the people has come across louder with the wider spread of democracy.

Over 1,300 representatives of 570 NGOs from 58 countries attended this 1992 Conference on "Regional Conflicts: Threats to World Peace and Progress", held at United Nations Headquarters from 9-11 September. "An Agenda for Peace", the Secretary-General's report to the Members of the United Nations, provided a valuable background for discussions which covered all aspects of intra-national and regional conflicts. In his keynote address, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali set the tone for NGO involvement in the peaceful resolution of conflicts, expressing appreciation for their contribution and describing NGO cooperation as "vital".

The timeliness of the theme, in addition to the prominent and outstanding speakers and resource persons, accounted for the great success of the Conference. Yet, without the participation of the large number of NGO representatives, many of whom came from different lands, the Conference could not have achieved such success.

This year, for the first time, NGO participants were given the opportunity to make presentations at a plenary session, briefly reviewing their organizations' work in the areas of conflict resolution and humanitarian assistance. NGO representatives also had an opportunity to exchange views about their activities and the work of their organizations at the Wednesday and Thursday luncheon interchanges.

This report aims at providing a comprehensive summary of the Conference proceedings. It should complement the four-page summary report issued at the end of September. It is hoped that this report will be a useful resource for NGOs, policy-makers, teachers, students and others whose efforts will be needed to resolve conflicts and build peace everywhere. Finally, I wish to express gratitude to the excellent team of staff, NGO volunteers and interns who cooperated in the preparation and production of both reports.



NGO and Institutional Relations
Department of Public Information

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Wednesday, 9 September 1992

Open from 8:30 a.m.	**REGISTRATION**, Public Lobby, General Assembly Building, United Nations (46th Street and First Avenue, New York)
10:00 a.m.	**OPENING PLENARY SESSION** (General Assembly Hall)
Introduction:	**Farouk Mawlawi**, Chief, Non-Governmental Organizations and Institutional Relations, Department of Public Information, United Nations; and 1992 DPI/NGO Annual Conference Coordinator
	Gordon John Klopf, Chairperson, Executive Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations Associated with the Department of Public Information; and Representative, World Organization for Early Childhood Education, New York, NY
Welcome:	**Eugeniusz Wyzner**, Under-Secretary-General Department of Public Information, United Nations
	REGIONAL CONFLICTS
Chair:	**William Vendley**, Chairperson, 1992 DPI/NGO Annual Conference Planning Committee; and Interim Secretary-General, International World Conference on Religion and Peace, New York, NY
10:45 - 11:15 a.m.	**Regional Conflicts: An Historical Overview**
Speaker:	**Sir Brian Urquhart**, former Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations; and Scholar-in-Residence, International Affairs Programme, The Ford Foundation, New York
11:30 - 11:50 a.m.	**Regional Conflicts in the Post Cold War World**
Speaker:	**H.E. Mr. Jimmy Carter**, former President of the United States of America

Wednesday, 9 September 1992 (cont'd)

12:00 - 12:15 p.m. **KEYNOTE ADDRESS**

Peaceful Resolution of Regional Conflicts: A Challenge to the United Nations

H.E. BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI
SECRETARY-GENERAL
UNITED NATIONS

1:00 - 2:45 p.m. **LUNCHEON DISCUSSIONS**
Informal lunch at the Church Centre.
(777 United Nations Plaza, First Avenue and 44th Street)

3:00 - 5:30 p.m. **THE UNITED NATIONS AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS**

An Agenda for Peace: The Secretary-General's Report to the Members of the United Nations

Speaker: **Vladimir Petrovsky**, Under-Secretary-General
Department for Political Affairs, United Nations

Peace-keeping: Status, Challenges and Limitations

Moderator: **Ambassador Louise Fréchette**, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York, NY

Speakers: **Kofi Annan**, Assistant Secretary-General
Department of Peace-keeping Operations, United Nations

Alvaro de Soto, Assistant Secretary-General
Senior Political Adviser to the Secretary-General, United Nations

Thursday, 10 September 1992

10:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. **PLENARY SESSION** (Conference Room 4)

THE UNITED NATIONS AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS

Moderator: **Enid Schoettle**, Director, Project on International Organizations and Law; and Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY

Peace-making: The Evolving Role of the United Nations

Speakers: **James Jonah**, Under-Secretary-General
Department for Political Affairs, United Nations

Kumar Rupesinghe, Secretary-General, Standing International Forum on Ethnic Conflict, Genocide and Human Rights, International Alert, London, United Kingdom

Benon Sevan, Assistant Secretary-General
Department for Political Affairs, United Nations

Peace-building: Humanitarian Intercessions

Speakers: **Qazi Shaukat Fareed**, Deputy to the Under-Secretary-General
Department for Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations

John Hammock, Executive Director, Oxfam America, Boston, MA

12:00 - 12:45 p.m. **VIDEO SCREENING**

Presenter: **Frank Merritt**, Associate Information Officer, NGO and Institutional Relations Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations

1:00 - 2:45 p.m. **LUNCHEON DISCUSSIONS**
Informal lunch at the Church Centre.
(777 United Nations Plaza, First Avenue and 44th Street)

3:00 - 5:30 p.m. **THE ORIGINS, GROWTH AND IMPACT OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS**

PARALLEL SESSION I **The Causes of Conflict: Historical, Cultural and Economic**
(Conf. Rm. 1)

Moderator: **Sylvan Barnet, Jr.**, Rotary International, New York, NY

Panelists: **Anatolii E. Karpov**, President, International Peace Foundations' Association, Moscow, Russian Federation

Betty Reardon, Assistant Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY; and Founder, International Peace Research Association, Yellow Springs, OH

Zareen Karani Lam, President, The International Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (SIETAR), Washington, D.C.

PARALLEL SESSION II **The Dynamics of Conflict: Motivation, Militarization and Mediation**
(Conf. Rm. 4)

Moderator: **Margery Cohen**, National United Nations Observer
League of Women Voters of the United States, Washington, D.C.

Panelists: **Joseph Montville**, Senior Consultant on Conflict Resolution
Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Service Institute, United States Department of State, Washington, D.C.

John Woodall, Psychiatrist, Harvard Medical School; Director, Global Order Division, Albert Schweitzer Institute for the Humanities, Wallingford, CT

Jany Gabriel Parise, President
Organisation Mondiale des Experts, Conseils, Arbitres, Paris, France

Thursday, 10 September 1992 (cont'd)

PARALLEL SESSION III	**The Consequences of Conflict: Humanitarian, Environmental and Economic** (Trusteeship Council)
Moderator:	**Christine K. Durbak**, Chair, World Information Transfer, New York, NY
Panelists:	**Jerry Genesio**, Executive Director, Veterans For Peace, Portland, ME
	Angela Raven-Roberts, Senior Emergency Programmes Officer for the Horn of Africa, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
	Pierre Pradier, Director General, Doctors of the World (Médecins du Monde), Paris, France
6:00 - 8:00 p.m.	**EVENING RECEPTION** -- Venue: Public Lobby Sponsored by the ***DPI/NGO Executive Committee***

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Friday, 11 September 1992

10:00 a.m. - 12:45 p.m.	**MORNING PLENARY** (Conference Room 4)
10:00 - 11:00 a.m.	**REGIONAL CONFLICTS: COMMUNICATION AND THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA**
Moderator:	**Kennedy Graham**, Secretary-General Parliamentarians for Global Action, New York, NY
Speakers:	**Majid Tehranian**, Director, Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace; and Professor of Communication, University of Hawaii, Manoa, HI
	Bhaskar P. Menon, Editor, International Documents Review, New York, NY
	Mayin Correa, Mayor of Panama City, Panama

Friday, 11 September 1992 (cont'd)

11:00 a.m. - 12:45 p.m. **REGIONAL CONFLICTS: THE ROLE OF NGOs**

Moderator: **Farouk Mawlawi**, Chief, NGO and Institutional Relations
Department of Public Information, United Nations

NGOs and the Negotiating Process

Speakers: **Harold H. Saunders**, Director, International Affairs
Kettering Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Olara Otunnu, President, International Peace Academy, New York, NY

1:00 - 2:45 p.m. **LUNCH**
(United Nations Delegates Dining Room)

Speaker: **H.E. Samir Shihabi**, President, United Nations General Assembly

3:00 - 5:30 p.m. **REGIONAL CONFLICTS: THE ROLE OF NGOs**

NGOs and Field Activities

Moderator: **Farouk Mawlawi**, Chief, NGO and Institutional Relations
Department of Public Information, United Nations

Speakers: **Peter Kung**, Chief of Delegation, Delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross to the United Nations, New York, NY

Luc Frèjacques, Doctors Without Borders (Médecins Sans Frontières), Paris, France

Marjorie Diane Nell, Programme Officer for the Horn of Africa,
Save the Children Federation, Westport, CT

NGOs and Other Relevant Activities

This session is devoted to five-minute presentations by 10 - 12 representatives of NGOs whose activities and experience are relevant to the conference theme.

5:30 p.m. **CONFERENCE CLOSING**

Vadim Perfiliev, Director
Dissemination Division, Department of Public Information

REGIONAL CONFLICTS:

THREATS TO WORLD PEACE AND PROGRESS

SUMMARY OF THE CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

INTRODUCTIONS AND WELCOME ADDRESS

GORDON KLOPF, Chair, DPI/NGO Executive Committee, welcomed NGO representatives to the 1992 DPI/NGO Annual Conference. He encouraged NGOs to contribute toward conflict prevention, peace-making and peace-building. Mr. Klopf said that in order to succeed, NGOs must strive to break down barriers of distrust and hostility, demand a free flow of information, provide humanitarian assistance, and encourage the study and practice of conflict resolution. He urged representatives to learn from one another while recognizing the unique role played by women. Quoting Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Mr. Klopf said the Conference participants needed to "seize the moment for the sake of the future".

EUGENIUSZ WYZNER, Under-Secretary-General for Public Information, welcomed NGO representatives to the 1992 DPI/NGO Conference by praising the timeliness of the Conference theme, "Regional Conflicts: Threats to World Peace and Progress". He said that the high number of participants at the meeting reflected the ever-growing interest in and support for the United Nations and its activities.

Mr. Wyzner said this year's Conference was a prime example of cooperation between the United Nations and the NGO community, especially through the DPI/NGO Executive Committee. Such unity was required to confront regional conflicts, as well as new crises (such as AIDS, drug abuse and trafficking, and environmental problems) which extended beyond national borders and demonstrated the world's interdependence.

Mr. Wyzner noted that the United Nations served as an institutional framework for coordinating global responses to global concerns and was a vital foundation for building the future. Humanity had begun to view the United Nations as the most potent catalyst for preventing conflict and achieving peace. He drew attention to the new spirit of consensus reflected by the United Nations Security Council Summit held in January 1992, which was attended by the leaders of all fifteen Security Council members.

At the Security Council's request, the Secretary-General prepared "An Agenda for Peace", in which he advanced measures to enhance the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security and the prevention of conflict. In the report, the Secretary-General emphasized the concept of peace-building: cooperative projects between peoples, communities and nations to enhance economic and social development and to build confidence and trust.

Mr. Wyzner said the quest for peace was not a role reserved for the Security Council alone; the United Nations Charter also recognized the vital role of regional organizations and NGOs in promoting peace and security. He cited Somalia and the former Yugoslavia as two areas where the United Nations was working closely with regional organizations and NGOs.

Mr. Wyzner said the United Nations needed an immediate flow of cash to finance its operations. Peace-keeping operations currently cost the United Nations US$2.7 billion per year--nearly three times its regular budget. Mr. Wyzner said that as

the United Nations was not authorized to borrow funds, the only credit it possessed was the trust and support of the peoples of the world. Since last September, 20 Member States had

joined the Organization, and NGOs played a crucial role in building public support among their constituencies. Working together, NGOs and the Department of Public Information had to try to reach nearly every household, to earn the trust and support so essential to the proper functioning of a system of collective security led by the United Nations. Advances in technology and telecommunications, coupled with a network of nearly 70 United Nations Information Centres world-wide, had helped DPI provide NGOs everywhere with access to relevant United Nations materials. At Headquarters, DPI provided NGO representatives with many opportunities to obtain information about the United Nations--through briefings, workshops and other special events such as the Conference.

Working together, NGOs and the Department of Public Information had to try to reach nearly every household, to earn the trust and support so essential to the proper functioning of a system of collective security led by the United Nations.

Mr. Wyzner concluded by saying that NGOs and the United Nations, being mutually supportive, had to confront the many challenges before the world community and shape a world society founded on the principles of the United Nations Charter--one in which hope would conquer adversity; kindness would overcome hatred; and prosperity would accompany peace. He said he hoped the Conference would be the first step on such a journey.

REGIONAL CONFLICTS

Regional Conflicts: An Historical Overview

Sir BRIAN URQUHART, former Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations; Scholar-in-Residence, International Affairs Programme, The Ford Foundation, said that the Charter was written with the 1930s in mind, especially the problem of aggression. In reality, international relations were more complicated. The Cold War quickly froze the Security Council. The use of force to deal with conflict--especially regional conflict--was then under debate, as it was now. Sir Brian said that those who had little experience using force, including himself, had pointed out that it was one thing to demand and discuss the use of force, but it was much more difficult to implement it. To use force, soldiers had to be deployed and told in great detail what to do and what not to do. They also had to know why they were fighting.

Sir Brian said that the frustrations of the Cold War had led the United Nations to develop alternatives. For instance, subcommittees of the Security Council were established and mediators appointed. Most importantly, the role of the Secretary-General grew, in a manner unforeseen by the Charter's authors, who originally envisioned the Secretary-General as a chief administrative officer. The Secretary-General proved to be invaluable when the Security Council was deadlocked.

The Security Council's use of peace-keeping operations was an innovation, as peace-keeping was not mentioned in the Charter. Nevertheless, its effectiveness was limited. Peace-keeping usually took place only after a conflict had occurred. Its success therefore depended on the willingness of conflicting parties to stop fighting. Peace-keeping was not used in civil wars (such as that in Nigeria), nor was it used in conflicts directly involving super-powers (e.g. Vietnam). Sir Brian said that the divided Security Council had provided little support for peace-keeping operations.

The end of the Cold War had suddenly made the goals of the United Nations Charter attainable.

Sir Brian said that until 1987, the United Nations was for the most part considered by the great powers as a "side-show". The Cuban Missile crisis and the Congo crisis were notable exceptions. The end of the Cold War, however, had suddenly made the goals of the Charter attainable. The Security Council was now a collegial and cooperative body, with several notable achievements, including the Namibia settlement, the end of the Iran-Iraq War, the elections in Angola, and the agreement on Cambodia currently being implemented. During the first 42 years of the United Nations, there had been thirteen peace-keeping operations. Since 1988, thirteen new operations had been established, and the number of troops currently deployed around the world was 40,000.

Sir Brian commented that United Nations operations of all kinds, especially peace-keeping, had become dangerously popular. He added that peace-keeping needed to be developed, as it was not applicable to every situation.

Sir Brian said that the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace" was an excellent step toward a more effective international system. However, it raised important questions regarding such issues as the definition of international responsibility, the level of support governments were prepared to give the Organization, and whether governments really wanted a stronger United Nations. Sir Brian also questioned whether governments would universally support United Nations intervention or provide the financial support that it required. Sir Brian observed that the size of the United Nations financial burden was approximately the cost of two stealth bombers.

Sir Brian concluded by saying that informed, public debate was desperately needed, to consider whether international law and world peace was possible.

Regional Conflicts in the Post-Cold War World

H.E. Mr. JIMMY CARTER, former President of the United States of America, urged Conference participants to have a positive approach to regional conflicts, focusing on such common values as the right to live in peace, to live free from fear of oppression or hunger, and to live in a world with economic security and a healthy environment. As President Carter was attending a meeting of the International Negotiating Network in Dakar, Senegal, at the time of the Conference, his address was presented on video-tape.

President Carter remarked that the 1980's had witnessed the most wars in history, with nearly 80 per cent of all casualties occurring among civilians. According to Sweden's Uppsala University, there were approximately 110 armed conflicts taking place, including thirty-five major wars with battlefield casualties in excess of 1,000 people.

Regional conflicts require regional solutions and regional solutions require regional responsibility.

President Carter identified discrimination among the rich and powerful, against the disadvantaged and homeless, as a major challenge facing the world.

President Carter said that whereas little could be done to alter the distribution of natural resources, society could act to address the unequal distribution of information. He questioned whether society valued all lives equally, since media coverage of events in Western Europe was much greater than coverage of events in Latin America, the Middle East or Asia. He also noted that during war, government propaganda sought to dehumanize the enemy, to lessen the psychological burden of waging war against human beings.

President Carter cited the precious resources spent on war at the expense of development. He said that in the 1980s, an average of two million U.S. dollars a minute was spent on war.

President Carter commented that governments and the United Nations could not always act with the speed required to avert tragedy. Governments needed popular support to commit large funds, and United Nations actions required Security Council approval.

President Carter said that this vacuum could be filled by NGOs. One such global NGO was the International Negotiating Network, which could be called in to act in an advisory role, as a third-party intermediary, or in some other constructive way, either publicly or discreetly. Central to the effectiveness of NGOs in easing tensions was their credibility with warring parties. President Carter stressed the need to find regional solutions to conflicts and the importance of having NGOs work to make ending war a national priority.

President Carter said he hoped that everyone assembled in Dakar and New York would have a strengthened sense of commitment to resolving regional conflicts and civil wars.

Peaceful Resolution of Regional Conflicts: A Challenge to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI, Secretary-General of the United Nations, opened by remarking that the annual gathering of NGOs at the United Nations represented a partnership dating back half a century. Some 200 NGOs were present at the Conference in San Francisco which produced the United Nations Charter. That partnership had now expanded to include nearly 2,000 organizations. More than 1,300 NGOs were associated with the Department of Public Information, and 900 were in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council. NGOs were affiliated with United Nations offices and specialized agencies throughout the world.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali highlighted the important role played by NGOs in humanitarian assistance and at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held in June 1992. He noted other opportunities for NGO involvement: the United Nations Development Programme's "Capacity 21" initiative (a US$100 million effort to support sustainable development in developing countries); the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights; the International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples (1993); the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development; and the International Year of the Family (1994).

"Modern warfare has virtually eliminated the age-old distinction between combatant and non-combatant. The proportion of civilian casualties to military deaths has been 9 to 1 in some conflicts."

According to the Secretary-General, the prospect of a renaissance for the United Nations following the end of the Cold War represented the best hope for the future of the world.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated that modern warfare had virtually eliminated the age-old distinction between combatant and non-combatant. The proportion of civilian casualties to military deaths had been 9 to 1 in some conflicts. It was an emerging reality that nations were more at war with themselves than with other nations.

The Secretary-General noted that the problem of "regional conflicts" had been understood and addressed in the context of bi-polar global confrontation. The term "regional conflict" currently needed to be redefined. Such conflicts were growing in number and their global implications were more complex. Research and analysis into the causes of these outbreaks of violence was needed, if lasting structures for peace were to be built.

The Secretary-General said there was a new specificity of conflict. Each conflict required a different form of United Nations involvement, with NGO cooperation playing a vital role. Each peace-keeping operation, however, demanded a comprehensive response at many levels: voluntary, regional, national and international.

In response to regional conflicts, the United Nations had dispatched fact-finding missions and Special Representatives; deployed observer teams; established peace-keeping operations involving substantial numbers of United Nations troops and police; and organized major humanitarian operations to provide assistance to millions of refugees and displaced persons. The United Nations had also assumed an active role in peace-building, by establishing electoral machinery and writing constitutions.

In Africa, the United Nations and the NGO community were working hand-in-hand to bring aid to populations in distress. In Somalia, the World Food Programme had entrusted distribution of desperately needed food to an NGO. In Liberia, NGOs were active in virtually every aspect of emergency assistance, providing large numbers of refugees and displaced persons with everything from food relief and vaccinations to wells for clean drinking water. NGOs also did this in Sudan, Ethiopia and the drought-stricken countries of southern Africa.

To respond to new forms of conflict, the international system had to continue to rest upon the State. However, regional associations could play a stronger role in supporting the United Nations. Peace required action across a wide spectrum, from the earliest signs of conflict to the reconstruction of a society after warfare had ended.

In closing, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said the participation of NGO representatives in the Conference would contribute to the growing dialogue among all levels of the international community. The work of the United Nations and the Member States could not be accomplished without broad understanding and support.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS

An Agenda for Peace: The Secretary-General's Report to the Members of the United Nations

VLADIMIR PETROVSKY, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, said that the world's most powerful countries had finally realized that the United Nations, in the post-Cold War period, had the potential to become a real force in the system of international peace and security. The Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace" made specific recommendations for enhancing the role of the Organization in this field. It examined all of the proposals made on the subject by governmental and non-governmental organizations, research institutions, Secretariat staff, and others, and chose the most promising of them for further consideration. The Secretary-General had formed a Task Force to aid in its preparation.

Mr. Petrovsky said that the report concentrated on the "three P's"--preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and peace-keeping; but also mentions a "fourth P": peace-building. The United Nations was the only truly universal institution, he said, and so its role in these activities could not be over-estimated. In the late 1980s, nearly one-fourth of all conflicts were dealt with by international and regional organizations; that number had now increased to one-third. The success of these endeavors also appeared to be increasing.

Because of the apparent increase in social and political tensions around the world today, preventive diplomacy was not outdated. Preventive diplomacy included a variety of actions, including such confidence-building measures as exchanging military missions, monitoring arms agreements, or promoting a freer flow of information.

Fact-finding was of the utmost importance to the United Nations in regard to these problems. The mere presence of a United Nations team, he said, could serve to demonstrate the concern of the world community for a given situation. The deployment of United Nations forces before a conflict began could also serve to cool tensions, as would mediation after a conflict had begun. He proposed that the international community be more receptive to the potential of global judicial bodies, such as the International Court of Justice. The League of Nations had established commissions of prominent jurists to settle disputes between states: such commissions could be set up today by the Security Council or by the International Court of Justice.

AN AGENDA FOR PEACE

"The sovereignty and territorial integrity and independence of States within the established international system and the principle of self-determination of peoples must not be permitted to work against each other in the period ahead."

Mr. Petrovsky said that the idea of "surgical" operations, such as those conducted in the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, had become extremely controversial. While the United Nations Charter granted the right to use force, the Security Council had no military forces of its own but could only authorize Member States to take action on its behalf.

Enforcement or military intervention alone could not settle regional conflicts. Instead, a comprehensive approach was required, including measures to ensure sustainable economic development, cooperative projects among countries, respect for fundamental freedoms, and limitations on arms trade.

The role of the Security Council had intensified and expanded in recent years, Mr. Petrovsky said, and the newly formed consensus within it made problem-solving quicker and more substantial. This made the Council much more powerful, and more capable of influencing world events. Even so, the United Nations needed the cooperation of all regional organizations, especially those in Europe, because of their significant influence on the international scene.

Mr. Petrovsky concluded by recommending that "An Agenda for Peace" be used as a starting point for discussion and/or implementation of these ideas. He stressed the need for international cooperation in political, social, and economic spheres; a willingness to share resources; and persistence and devotion from all who cared about the fate of the world.

Peace-keeping: Status, Challenges and Limitations

KOFI ANNAN, Assistant-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations, said that non-military sources of instability had become threats to peace and security. The basic conditions for a successful peace-keeping operation remained unchanged: a clear mandate, the cooperation of the disputing parties in implementing that mandate, the Security Council's support, the readiness of Member States to contribute personnel, an effective United Nations command, and adequate financial and logistic support.

Mr. Annan raised the question of when and how to intervene in conflicts. Traditionally, the United Nations had almost enshrined the concept of sovereignty, and only intervened with the consent of the governments concerned. The new form of regional conflicts was leading the United Nations to respond differently. Recently the Security Council had sent troops to Somalia to secure delivery of humanitarian assistance without the consent of the fighting factions. There was a mood in the General Assembly that the Organization should be pro-active in serious conflicts, even when not invited by faction leaders. Governments in the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, and Cuba had also allowed the United Nations to appoint special rapporteurs to investigate the situation of human rights in those countries.

Mr. Annan said that without the financial support of Member States, the United Nations would not be able to implement peace-keeping operations. Approximately 102 Member States owed dues to the Organization. In addition to having Member States in arrears pay interest, the United Nations could establish a Peace Endowment Fund. The interest from such a multi-billion dollar fund would be used to finance peace-keeping activities. The fund would be open to subscription by governments, companies, foundations and individuals. Mr. Annan said this would also be a marvellous opportunity to have the world community participate directly in the activities of the United Nations.

ALVARO DE SOTO, Senior Political Adviser to the Secretary-General, said that it was imperative for the negotiators of a dispute and the individuals who implement an operation to work together. This partnership between peacemakers and peace-keepers was critical in order for the two phases, as described in "Agenda for Peace", to be

seamless. There should be no interruption of the operation. At no point should the combatants feel "their hand being let go". Mr. De Soto said there was much room for the involvement of regional organizations in peace-keeping operations, as long as some basic rules were respected. One such rule was that command of a peace-keeping operation, which must be a military undertaking (because the security of personnel was at stake), should not be shared. While regional organizations could aggravate conflicts, the conflict was often best resolved locally.

In the former Yugoslavia, coordination between peacemakers and peace-keepers was not as clearly defined as it should be. At the beginning of the year, the United Nations had accepted the role of peace-keeper, while the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as certain European delegations, would do the peacemaking (e.g. diplomacy). The United Nations found itself engaged in peacemaking activities when it was arranging for the airport at Sarajevo to be open. The United Nations should have anticipated that it would be impossible to clearly delineate responsibilities between peacemaking and peace-keeping. Peace-keepers were, by definition, soldier diplomats, trying to prevent misunderstandings. They were constantly involved in reassuring one side of a conflict that a given alarming noise was only a jeep backfiring rather than someone firing a weapon. United Nations personnel had been playing such a role in Beirut for a number of years.

Since the International Conference on the Former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, held on 26 and 27 August 1992 in London, the United Nations had participated in peacemaking while continuing to be responsible for peace-keeping. The co-chairmen of the Conference were Mr. Cyrus R. Vance, the personal envoy of the Secretary-General, and Lord Owen, representing the European Community.

Regional conflicts were requiring multi-tiered operations, which went beyond the diplomatic and military levels. Mozambique was likely to be such an exercise. Namibia was such an example, as were the current missions in Angola, El Salvador and Cambodia.

The presence of interlocutors, who could be governments, factions, or insurgents, were a common denominator and challenge of almost all United Nations operations. It was often difficult to identify the leaders of the interlocutors or to judge whom to take seriously. The United Nations was having difficulty in deciding what type of leverage to use with certain groups of people.

JAMES JONAH, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, said that the strength of the United Nations as a peacemaker and negotiator, derived from its objectivity, impartiality, and concern for peace. These qualities were necessary to give the United Nations credibility among disputing parties. The United Nations should have no "hidden agenda", but should try instead to understand the interests of parties to a dispute, while bringing them together. Unless a party felt it had the negotiator's support, negotiations would not be successful. A party's dislike of relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly (e.g. that equating Zionism to racism) or by the Security Council, could undermine the negotiator's credibility. In that case, the Secretary-General would try to explain that while he had to abide by the resolution, his major task was to help find a peaceful solution.

Security and the political situation had to be addressed simultaneously in peace-keeping operations. The United Nations had been criticized for its efforts in seeking a cease-fire in Somalia. However, a cease-fire was a pre-condition to providing humanitarian assistance in Somalia, since Mogadishu had been under constant shelling since mid-November 1991.

In conclusion, Mr. Jonah said that the United Nations role in international affairs was indeed evolving. He welcomed the Secretary-General's proposals to encourage the participation of regional organizations in peacemaking and to seek additional resources.

KUMAR RUPESINGHE, Secretary-General, Standing International Forum on Ethnic Conflict, Genocide and Human Rights, International Alert, said that 20 more conflicts may emerge in Africa over the next few years. Poverty, ethnicity, nationalism and the current wave of democracy in Africa were some of the causes of these conflicts. There were currently 32 civil wars,

which may soon increase to 46. There were about 20 million recognized refugees, with a larger number of internally displaced persons. By the year 2000, there may be over one billion displaced persons.

Conflict prevention, more than peacemaking, was the main challenge. Discussion of non-military means of conflict prevention and peacemaking was required. A framework was needed to address the central issue of identity and the ability of people to live together peacefully. Fact-finding missions were another way of helping to prevent conflict, and could be used to bring parties together.

Governments were sometimes as fragile as NGOs, and they did not necessarily always know how to respond to new claims placed on them. The United Nations could do much more to provide governments with advice and services.

BENON SEVAN, Assistant Secretary-General in the Department for Political Affairs, spoke of his experience in Afghanistan, where he served for four years as the Secretary-General's Personal Representative and Administrator of "Operation Salam", coordinating United Nations emergency relief and rehabilitation efforts. While the world had focused its attention on Afghanistan in the past, little attention had been paid recently to the Afghan crisis. Few General Assembly or Security Council

meetings were currently being held on Afghanistan. The Secretary-General's four representatives and 50 military personnel in Afghanistan were "on their own". The situation there was horrendous, with almost two million people dead--most of whom were civilians. Only US$42 million had been allocated out of the US$118 million requested. Most of these funds were being used to repatriate over 5 million people.

Mr. Sevan said the United Nations role should be like that of yeast in baking bread: "when the bread is cooked, you talk about the taste of the bread, the crust of the bread, and you praise the baker, but you never talk about the yeast". The peacemaking process and settlement should be an Afghan one, where the "bakers" were the Afghans, not foreigners.

As long as they remained non-partisan, governments and NGOs could help the Afghan people achieve peace. Mr. Sevan's mandate was to talk to everyone and to further the peace process. Achieving peace was difficult in a country where people were divided because of geography and tribal wars, among other factors. The absence of authority was a large obstacle. The biggest challenge for Afghanistan was integrating the thousands of young men who knew only war, while a challenge for the international community was to promote unity among Afghans. Another civil war in Afghanistan would have serious repercussions for international security.

Peace-building: Humanitarian Intercessions

QAZI SHAUKAT FAREED, Deputy to the Emergency Relief Coordinator and Under-Secretary-General Mr. Jan Eliasson, Department of Humanitarian Affairs, spoke on behalf of Mr. Eliasson, who was on mission in Somalia. In response to General Assembly resolution 46/182, the Secretary-General had established the Department of Humanitarian Affairs in March, to assist the Emergency Relief Coordinator. One of Mr. Eliasson's top priorities had been to establish the best possible relationship with all participants in emergency relief. NGOs, who played a crucial role in most humanitarian programmes, had been invited to participate in inter-agency meetings organized by the Department in both Geneva and New York. In Somalia, for instance, CARE had been the principal partner of the United Nations for the distribution of food.

Humanitarian diplomacy could be applied for the purposes of prevention as well as after an emergency occurred. When tragedy struck without warning, quick relief was critical. Here, the Central Emergency Revolving Fund, a US$50 million fund established by the General Assembly, could be used. An efficient yet delicate approach must be devised to assuage the sensitivities of those in distress and create the momentum for recovery. It was especially important to develop early a programme of long-term rehabilitation and to avoid short-sighted policies of offering only relief.

Peace-building and humanitarianism went hand-in-hand. The new tools of the United Nations

system provided a coordinated method of responding to the increasingly diverse humanitarian challenges, thus enabling massive crises to be prevented or contained. This was a worthwhile contribution to the principal aims of peace-building.

JOHN C. HAMMOCK, Executive Director, Oxfam America, quoted Segustina Soares, a young woman who had left her village for Inchope, Mozambique: "I came here because there is peace and I came here because there is food. I have already lost two of my children to diarrhea and vomiting." Mr. Hammock said there was no food in Inchope. He questioned whether this was peace. He also noted that in Cambodia, farmers still had to contend with mines in the paddy fields, despite the peace accords.

For peace to exist, three root causes of war had to be examined and addressed. First, foreign military aid was being used internally, tearing apart countries such as Somalia. In the 1970s and 1980s, hundreds of millions of dollars in weapons had been poured into Somalia, a country of 6 million people, from both camps of the Cold War. Even then, the bulk of aid flowing to Somalia continued to be military not humanitarian aid.

A second root cause of war was that most governments were using a model of economic development that hurt the poor. These policies of structural adjustment were reducing social spending at the expense of the poor. Such policies had been implemented in countries such as Zimbabwe and the United States, widening the income gap between the rich and the poor.

A third root cause of war was the growing intolerance for diversity, especially among people with power. The tragic suffering in Somalia would not have been allowed to occur elsewhere.

Mr. Hammock encouraged all NGOs and the United Nations to be active in building peace. "An Agenda for Peace" was a great step forward in achieving this aim. He agreed with the Secretary-General that "promoting the empowerment of the unorganized, the poor and the marginalized" was crucial for building peace. He encouraged NGOs to maintain their independence and to be forceful in speaking out for the poor. People should start by building peace within their homes. The strength for creating an alternative development movement could be obtained from people such as Segustina Soares, who had told him: "I don't want a hand-out, I want to go back to my land. I want to make it on my own with dignity."

THE ORIGINS, GROWTH, AND IMPACT OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS

The Causes of Conflict: Historical, Cultural and Economic

ANATOLII KARPOV, President, International Peace Foundations' Association, said the cause of conflicts in the Commonwealth of Independent States was, for the most part, not ethnicity but political power. For example, while there was no personal hostility between the peoples of Georgia and Azerbaijan, they struggled for authority to govern territory. National self-assertion was taking place at the expense of the self-determination of other nations. Mr. Karpov quoted the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace": "The sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States within the established international system, and the principle of self-determination for peoples, both of great value and importance, must not be permitted to work against each other in the

period ahead." External conditions such as improvements in technology and communication also aggravated conflicts.

The International Peace Foundations' Association was planning a conference on ways of preventing inter-ethnic conflicts. With UNESCO's support, the organization was establishing an education and rehabilitation centre for children who were victims of ethnic conflicts and ecological disasters.

BETTY REARDON, Assistant Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University; Founder, International Peace Research Association (IPRA), said that lack of learning was the most significant cause of all violent conflict. IPRA was studying the causes of war and the conditions for peace. It had nearly 1,000 members from 60 countries. Its "Cultural Symbiosis Project" examined how Islamic, Christian and Jewish communities were able to live together for centuries on the Iberian peninsula.

Distorted and narrow accounts of history was another cause of conflict. Most of recorded history was the product of male power elites, who tended to concentrate on war rather than peace. A long-term view of history could provide alternatives and focus instead on such things as the contributions of women and indigenous peoples. War and violence did not have to be the norm. Retaining positive relationships was the most significant aspect of conflict resolution.

ZAREEN KARANI LAM, President, Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research International (SIETAR), said that inter-ethnic rather than international conflicts were increasing. Cultural differences were at the center of political upheaval in many countries. An important element in the emergence of conflicts was differing perceptions of situations. Interculturalists believed that these differing perceptions arose because of different mind-sets, which reflected national experience and culture. It was important for decision-makers to anticipate the way those involved in conflict were culturally programmed. Values and emotions could cause far more destruction than weapons.

People were not in control of their perceptions. Their minds supplied information to complete a picture according to personal assumptions, prejudices, and experiences.

Ethnicity could be defined as "belief in a shared heritage and common ancestors", creating a group identity. A struggle for "relative group worth" could take place when ethnic groups felt that their heritage was not respected.

An effective diplomat or mediator was one who could accurately see things through the eyes of others. Since images once formed were hard to dislodge, it was pertinent to understand how they were formed. Mutually exclusive values could cause conflict when they affected perceptual differences and caused misunderstandings.

JOSEPH MONTVILLE, Senior Consultant on Conflict Resolution, Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Service Institute, United States Department of State, said that a global ideology based on human rights was emerging. Almost unnoticed, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was codifying a set of agreements and rules on human rights. Other regional organizations were producing similar documents. There had never been such a comprehensive approach towards developing a set of rules defining democratic pluralism in civil society.

Many countries were practicing "track two diplomacy", Mr. Montville's term for "an unofficial, informal consultation designed to develop concepts and ideas in the intellectual and moral basis for movement towards settlements". The old power politics model used by most governments needed to be replaced with a civil society concept. Political leaders knew little about conflict resolution.

However, there was no consensus on the theory and practice of conflict resolution. Practitioners, however, agreed on the goal of conflict resolution: moving from power-base relations and "win-lose" approaches to conflict, towards the facilitation of communication, confidence-building, problem-solving, voluntary agreement and "win-win" situations.

Mr. Montville defined at least two distinct, mutually supportive components of conflict resolution: training in dispute resolution skills, and political conflict resolution processes. The widely used negotiation-mediation-conciliation approach, concentrated on problem-solving through consensus-building so that the basic interests of all parties could be satisfied. On the other hand, the litigation or power negotiation approach promoted discord, since the "power" side wins while the weak side loses and is determined to seek revenge in the future. Negotiating skills were critically important, and could help resolve deep-rooted ethnic and sectarian conflicts. In fact, conflict resolution could

support the evolution of democratic pluralism in civil society.

The goals of political conflict resolution processes were to identify the origins of a conflict and to do so in a way that set a clear agenda for healing. Traditional diplomacy did not use the term healing, which was "messy", suggested emotions and uncertainty, and had nothing to do with conventions and legal procedures. Such formal diplomacy failed to address the sense of victimization which perpetuated conflict. One mechanism used in political conflict resolution was a "problem-solving workshop". This was not a negotiation session, but a series of small meetings facilitated by a third-party, where representatives of conflicting groups could begin to establish the agenda for healing and to articulate their needs for security, safety, recognition, acceptance and respect.

NGOs had a responsibility to mobilize public opinion in support of exposing the truth and advocating the paths to healing.

JOHN WOODALL, Psychiatrist, Harvard Medical School; Director, Global Order Division, Albert Schweitzer Institute for the Humanities, reported on children in Croatian refugee camps and how they had been desensitized by atrocities they had witnessed. He stated that intense unresolved childhood trauma caused childhood victims to become adult victimizers. He said he had visited Croatia in order to prevent this; by providing children with hope, social stability, and reverence for life.

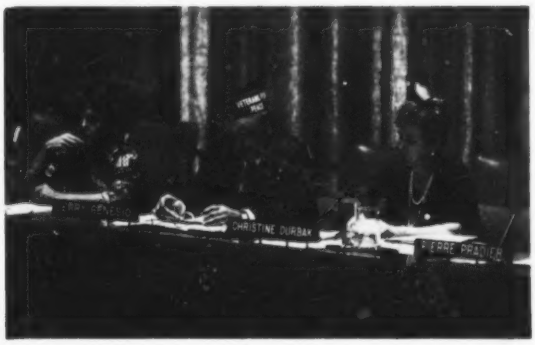
Dr. Woodall discussed the Global Order Initiative, which called for increased appreciation of interdependence, as well as strengthening the institutions of international law and collective security. Annual meetings of academics, policy-makers and NGOs would be held to promote the Global Order Initiative's objective of ending war by the year 2000.

JANY GABRIEL PARISE, President, Organisation Mondiale des Experts, Conseils, Arbitres, opened with a quote from President Mitterrand: "Poverty and war are not the mere products of destiny, they are the implacable result of a perverse logic that we have to break together...." Mr. Parise defined "the dynamism of conflict" as the body of events that acted on the behaviour of individuals and groups, in the formation, expression and resolution of conflicts. Disparities in evolution gave rise to conflict, which assumed the form of economic, territorial, ideological, political, ethnic, or religious disputes. Conflicts resulted from misunderstandings of interests and intentions between parties.

Mr. Parise quoted from John Stoessinger's Why Nations Go To War: "Peace will be restored when reality triumphs. The outbreak of conflict, and peace which results from it, are separated by a road which leads from illusion to reality".

The Consequences of Conflict: Humanitarian, Environmental and Economic

JERRY GENESIO, Chief Executive Officer, Veterans for Peace, said consequences of violent conflicts had to be measured in terms of the amount of blood spilled and the degradation of the environment. More than 147 million human beings had died in violent conflicts since the dawn of the 20th century, 83% of whom were civilians. In addition, an estimated four million land-mines were hidden in Cambodia and ten million land-mines in Afghanistan. After the second World War, the Allied powers had sunk approximately 50 ships with 303,000 tonnes of chemical weapons in the North and Baltic Seas; since then, nuclear naval operations had left at least 51 nuclear warheads and nine nuclear reactors on the ocean floor. Mr. Genesio concluded with the observation that an estimated 430,000 people would have died this century from nuclear weapons testing.



ANGELA RAVEN-ROBERTS, Senior Emergency Programmes Officer for the Horn of Africa, United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF), said that internal conflicts led to the development of a spiraling relationship between insecurity, environmental degradation, and continuous or "institutionalized conflict and emergency situations", which in itself caused environmental destruction. Some characteristics of internal conflicts included: hardening of ethnic boundaries as a means of reaffirming a group's right to resources; changes in relationships within households and families, between generations, and between sexes, leading to conflicting structures of authority, and to conflicting development and decision-making processes; and disruption of markets and of economic production.

Internal conflicts were characterized by a high degree of civilian casualties (especially among women and children), destruction of civilian infrastructure, and total disruption to the economy. In the last decade, 1.5 million children had been killed in conflicts, four million children had become physically disabled, 12 million children had become displaced, and millions more were chronically ill.

PIERRE PRADIER, Director General, Doctors of the World (Médecins du Monde), said that pressure from humanitarian organizations had led the General Assembly to adopt two important resolutions: resolution 43/131 of 8 December 1988, which required that access to victims of disaster and conflicts be respected; and resolution 45/100 of 14 December 1990, which, inter alia, advocated the establishment of humanitarian corridors. However, these resolutions were not being fully implemented. NGOs had to work to help the United Nations be less hesitant in assuming its responsibilities. Too often the role of the United Nations had been limited to deterring aggression against humanitarian convoys, while allowing the protagonists to murder innocent people. NGOs had to persuade governments to respect human rights and to assist the United Nations in bringing about peace.

REGIONAL CONFLICTS: COMMUNICATION AND THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

MAJID TEHRANIAN, Director, Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace; Professor of Communication, University of Hawaii, said that the world was at a critical juncture between "self-destruction and self-renewal". There were five trends currently shaping the world: globalism, regionalism, nationalism, localism and spiritualism.

Globalism could be either hegemonic or communitarian, while regionalism could be either exclusionary or inclusionary. Regional common markets had formed in reaction to the threat of economic domination from superior market forces. These regional blocs could either include more countries or exclude them.

Nationalism could be either democratic and benign, or totalitarian and aggressive. Currently, over 5,000 ethnic groups demanded sovereignty or total independence. Localism, or the demand for devolution of power from central government to local governments, could similarly assume contradictory tendencies. It could lead to local prejudices being imposed upon minorities, or it could serve as an ideology which empowered peripheries to challenge hegemonic centres of power.

Spiritualism had manifested itself in fundamentalism and ecumenicalism. The rise of religious consciousness could be interpreted as a crisis of modernity. Modernization was based upon a scientific, technological, instrumentalist world-view, with a faith in infinite progress. To build a more humane world, hope and recognition of humanity's fragility were needed.

BHASKAR MENON, Editor, International Documents Review (a weekly newsletter on the United Nations), said that the objective of a journalist was to be clear, while the basic intention of the United Nations Department of Public Information was to be ambiguous. DPI would like to convey information but it could not, as it did not want to offend governments. The United Nations was an intergovernmental body, and governments were expressions of power. The reason the United Nations had been so ineffective in preventing the "scourge of war" was not because people or religions could not get along, but because governments could not.

The media was also part of the power structure. There was no free media anywhere in the world. Politicians used the media to communicate to the people they controlled. The media reflected what was of concern to the people in power, rather than to ordinary people. The media was incapable of covering peace, as it focused on events, not processes, and emphasized the dramatic rather than the peaceful.

There was no such thing as a "regional conflict". The United Nations used this phrase to distance itself from the conflict. Every regional conflict since the Second World War had actually been a global conflict or proxy war. No Third World country had the resources to carry on a war for more than two or three weeks. Even so, the wars in Iran-Iraq, Afghanistan, and Vietnam continued for years. In almost every instance, ethnic conflicts were being fermented from abroad, because governments were vying for power. The United Nations did not touch any of these conflicts.

The solution had to come from NGOs, because NGOs organized ordinary people. A theory for peace was needed which prepared and trained people to build peace.

MAYIN CORREA, Mayor of Panama City, said she regretted that good news was no news at all. She noted that one journalist had tried to produce a newspaper which focused on peace, but it only lasted three months. People needed to learn that "news is news", whether good or bad. Sensationalist media had the largest circulation, but through education readers could learn to appreciate other news as well.

REGIONAL CONFLICTS: THE ROLE OF NGOs

NGOs and the Negotiating Process

HAROLD H. SAUNDERS, Director, International Affairs, Kettering Foundation, said that international relations was changing in three ways. First, states increasingly faced problems that they could not manage alone, such as epidemics or threats to their security. Second, people outside government were increasingly involved in the conduct of international relations. In the United States, for example, there was "public space", where citizens debated or developed plans for their communities, apart from government. Perhaps a better name for NGOs was "public" organizations. NGOs were often primary rather than supplemental actors.

Mr. Saunders also noted that "the familiar concepts of international relations--such as state sovereignty, national interests, and power politics--as presently defined, do not adequately describe how nations relate in our interdependent world, and the traditional instruments of statecraft, such as military power and negotiation, do not reliably produce the results we expect of them." Mr. Saunders said his involvement in the Arab-Israeli peace process during the 1970s led him to conclude that "until political leaders had acted to change the political environment, or until citizens had worked to change their relationships with other citizens across boundaries, the negotiators didn't have a chance".

"The familiar concepts of international relations--such as state sovereignty, national interests, and power politics--as presently defined, do not adequately describe how nations relate in our interdependent world, and the traditional instruments of statecraft, such as military power and negotiation, do not reliably produce the results we expect of them."

Mr. Saunders said that "relationships among nations are increasingly a political process of continuous interaction among whole bodies politic across permeable borders." This process involved both government institutions and "public" organizations.

Change in relationships often began in the political or human arena, and not in government offices or in the negotiating room.

Mr. Saunders suggested five ways to broaden theories of international relations to include not only state and governmental interactions, but also the many interactions that take place between bodies politic. First, the role of NGOs in building peace was potentially infinite. Second, a new vocabulary was needed. For example, the national interest was not merely what state institutions declared it to be; it should also reflect the concerns of the country's citizens.

Such a framework would thus require a new partnership between governments and civil societies. Strong civil societies would make governments more effective, opening the door to new partnerships between governments. Mr. Saunders also said that many conflicts, such as those arising from identities or differing views of history, were not suitable for governmental mediation but were best handled by NGOs.

New ways also had to be found to accomplish what sovereignty was originally intended to do--foster respect for the integrity and identity of interacting groups. The principles of non-interference and non-intervention were not absolute in an interdependent world, where the rights of human beings were considered to be the proper concern of all humanity.

"A large reservoir of power in human relationships lies waiting to be tapped," Mr. Saunders concluded.

OLARA OTUNNU, President, International Peace Academy, said that as independent actors, NGOs could complement the work of intergovernmental bodies in peacemaking, peace-building, and preventing conflict. NGOs were often better qualified than intergovernmental bodies to prevent conflict. Being "on the ground", NGOs had accurate information which could be disseminated, leading to informed decisions. NGOs could also try to redress imbalances in

economic development, a principal cause of conflict.

When conflicts erupted, NGOs could play a valuable role by providing opportunities for disputing factions to meet. NGOs were usually objective and independent, unlike governments. The peace settlement in Cambodia illustrated how a non-official setting succeeded in breaking the deadlock. The meeting was attended by the official parties as well as their backers, along with independent statesmen and experts. Ideas from the meeting were then passed on to the official actors, leading to the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict.

"The idea emerged of bringing the parties together in a completely non-official setting for the purpose of exploring ideas that might break the deadlock."

Another important role for NGOs was providing training in conflict management and resolution.

The International Peace Academy had recently been invited to present a series of proposals for establishing a mechanism for conflict resolution within the Organization of African Unity. NGOs could provide such training to leaders from countries with little experience in constitutional matters, such as those from the former Soviet Union and Central Europe.

With regard to peace-building, NGOs could play a valuable part in long-term efforts to rehabilitate war-torn economies and rebuild democratic institutions. However, major intergovernmental organizations still had primary responsibility for the consolidation of security immediately following a settlement, such as the demobilization of armies or the de-mining of the countryside.

It was important for international NGOs to complement the work of local organizations within countries involved in conflict. Local NGOs were not always objective, but they knew the situation best. Mr. Otunnu said he hoped that NGOs from developed countries would not allow the pattern of North-South dependency prevalent at the intergovernment level, to occur in the non-official arena.

The Conference Speakers' Luncheon

Mr. Eugeniusz Wyzner, Under-Secretary-General for Public Information, and Mr. Gordon Klopf, Chairman of the DPI/NGO Executive Committee, co-hosted a Speakers' Luncheon on Friday, 11 September. The luncheon speaker was H.E. Samir Shihabi, President of the United Nations General Assembly.

H. E. Mr. SAMIR SHIHABI, President of the United Nations General Assembly, recounted the history of the formation of the United Nations and reiterated the continued importance of the international community of Member States--which had grown to a total of 179 during the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

He cited the important role of the General Assembly in preserving international peace and security, and noted that it was the only principal organ of the United Nations with universal membership and universal competence to address all areas of concern to every Member State. He cited the importance of reduction and control of all weapons, and stated that the war in the former Yugoslav republics was a tragic reminder of the terror and suffering that could be inflicted by conventional weaponry. Mr. Shihabi expressed his support for the Secretary-General's Agenda for Peace and singled out two proposals. First, the United Nations should be directly involved in efforts of conflict resolution that are conducted through the good offices of other parties, such as on the current Middle East peace talks. Second, various regional organizations should work with the United Nations, to deal with specific regional and international conflicts. NGOs should play an increasingly important role in building a new international system of stable peace, common security and sustainable development.

"The world is at a rare juncture in history, a moment of both opportunity and challenge, as never-before evidenced since the end of the second World War, thus releasing human and material resources which for so long were tied down in sterile ideological rivalry, bloc politics and confrontation."

"The world is at a rare juncture in history, a moment of both opportunity and challenge, as never-before evidenced since the end of the second World War, thus releasing human and material resources which for so long were tied down in sterile ideological rivalry, bloc politics and confrontation," he said.

NGOs and Field Activities

PETER KUNG, Chief of Delegation, Delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross to the United Nations, said that his organization was formed 133 years ago and currently had over 150 national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies. ICRC's mandate was to assist and protect victims in times of armed conflict. Its four main principles were: humanitarian assistance, impartiality, neutrality, and independence.

The ICRC remained an emergency organization. Its protective activities ranged from saving individual lives to the organization of cease-fires and large-scale evacuations, as well as the establishment of neutral zones. ICRC visited prisoners-of-war and political detainees, protecting their lives, health and dignity. Since the end of the Iran-Iraq war, ICRC had repatriated more than 100,000 prisoners of war.

The ICRC assisted victims by providing such essential items as water, food and shelter. While it sought to control relief operations, the ICRC was happy to hand over the task of reconstruction to other NGOs or to the United Nations, after emergencies. By demonstrating the spirit of peace, and through its capacity for negotiation, the ICRC believed it had a role in prevention of conflicts and peace-keeping.

LUC FREJACQUES, representative of Doctors Without Borders, (Médecins sans Frontières) said his organization was founded in 1971 to provide emergency assistance during crises. It sometimes intervened in countries without the consent of the governments concerned. Doctors Without Borders developed equipment for use in the field which could

be easily transported. More than 2,000 volunteers had served on 230 missions for Doctors Without Borders. In addition to providing effective assistance to victims of conflicts, the organization provided information on situations to governments and others.

MARJORIE DIANE NELL, Programme Officer for the Horn of Africa, Save the Children Federation, said that NGOs had two responsibilities in regional conflicts: to provide emergency assistance, while keeping long-term development in mind; and to communicate their knowledge to governments and international organizations. One of the strengths of NGOs was their first-hand knowledge of cultures and societies, derived from their work in the field.

NGOs and Other Relevant Activities

Reverend ROBERT F. SMYLIE, representative of the Presbyterian Church, said that his Church's peacemaking activities included: education and training, cross-cultural and interfaith communication, public policy advocacy and humanitarian assistance. The Presbyterian Church had encouraged public dialogue on the reunification of the Korean peninsula, by facilitating the exchange of visits between church leaders from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and from the Republic of Korea.

CATHERINE O'NEILL, Chair, Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, said that in the last year, her organization had sent delegations of women to Cambodia, Ethiopia, and Central America. Commission members had testified before the United States Congress and the United Nations, on the need to include the participation of women refugees in repatriation efforts. After all, many women were heads of households. The Commission recently held an international conference which was broadcast across the United States. It had also written several reports and editorial pieces.

KUMAR MUTHUKUMARASWAMY, representative of Peace Brigades International, said the objective of his organization was to protect people whose lives were endangered, by providing escorts, peacemakers, and education. Current activities included escorting Guatemalan refugees returning home. Recently, members intervened in the conflict involving native Americans in Canada.

RICHARD HARVEY, representative of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, said that the Association has been actively supporting the rights of colonized, oppressed and indigenous peoples since 1946. The Association sent teams of lawyers to monitor the 1990 elections in Namibia. It has published numerous reports and organized a conference titled, "Towards a Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict over Northern Ireland".

Mr. Harvey implored the Security Council never again to sanction a resort to arms such as during the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait. He pointed out that it was civilians who suffered in these cases. He then addressed two specific regional conflicts: South Africa and Northern Ireland. Mr. Harvey deplored both these situations and agreed wholeheartedly with the Secretary-General that when a conflict occurred within the national boundaries of a Member State, this did not excuse inaction on the part of the United Nations. Mr. Harvey asserted that the United Nations could no longer ignore the question of Northern Ireland.

RASHIDA PATEL, representative of the Pakistan Women Lawyers' Association commented primarily on women and war. She stated that women the world over are the poorest of the poor, the hungriest of the hungry, exploited, underpaid, and the worst victims of "male-warriors". Nonetheless, women had joined together through women's organizations and other NGOs, to end war between nations and other armed conflicts.

CONFERENCE CLOSING

VADIM PERFILIEV, Director, Dissemination Division, Department of Public Information, commended the speakers for their insightful presentations. He noted the tremendous contributions made by NGOs to the principles of the United Nations Charter. NGOs brought their knowledge and skills across national boundaries to address critical issues without national political biases. Mr. Perfiliev welcomed the increasing number of NGOs in association with the Department of Public Information, including many from newly independent countries. He proposed having similar conferences in other countries, to foster additional networking among NGOs. The United Nations recognized the importance of working with NGOs and offered them a variety of information services, including weekly briefings on topical issues, orientations, workshops, and monthly mailings to NGOs associated with DPI. In addition, the United Nations provided information and materials to NGOs through the NGO Resource Centre at Headquarters and through United Nations Information Centres around the world.

1992 DPI/NGO ANNUAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

Conference Coordinator	- **Farouk Mawlawi**, Chief NGO and Institutional Relations Department of Public Information, United Nations
Chairperson DPI/NGO Executive Committee	- **Gordon John Klopf** World Organization for Early Childhood Education
Chair, Planning Committee	- **William Vendley** World Conference on Religion and Peace
Rapporteur	- **Amelia M. Dozzi** International Social Service
Chair, NGO Interchange	- **Margery Cohen** League of Women Voters of the United States
Luncheons Coordinator (Church Centre for the United Nations)	- **Sr. Gloria Garcia, CSJ** Congregations of St. Joseph
Co-Chairs, Reception	- **Gordon John Klopf, Frank Merritt**
Conflict Management Consultant	- **Karin Christenson** SYNERGY Associates

MEMBERS

Barbara Burns
International Public Relations Association

G. Winifred Kagwa
International Federation of Social Workers

Estelle Linzer
Albert Schweitzer Fellowship

Albert Ornstein
Experiment in International Living and Oxfam America

Robert Smylie
Presbyterian Church (USA)
World Alliance of Reformed Churches

The Staff and Interns of the NGO and Institutional Relations Section:

Staff	Interns
Frank Merritt	**Carolyn Cocca**
Michèle Ryan	**Theodore Funk**
Marie Michelle Claudio	**Jane Goldenberg**
Arlette Leoncavallo	**Shane McGrail**
Anna Vilenchitz	**Riva Naimark**
Eric Wong	

CONFERENCE RAPPORTEURS

Vinie Burrows	Women's International Democratic Federation
Barbara Gallagher	World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations
Alfred Geduldig	International Public Relations Association
Maxine Gilliland	American Association of University Women
Nancy Hoepli	Foreign Policy Association
Barbara Leslie	International Council of Jewish Women
Lucy Littlefield	World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts
Michael McDermott	International Public Relations Association
Hedwin Naimark	Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues
Caroline Pezzullo	Society for International Development
Leonard Rubin	Communications Coordinating Committee for the UN
Selma Sapir	International Council of Psychologists
Carol Smolenski	Christian Children's Fund
William Stibravy	United States Council for International Business
Andrea Williamson-Hughes	Save the Children Federation

CONFERENCE NGO VOLUNTEERS

Sophie Altin	Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America
Sylvan Barnet	Rotary International
Iris Dubose	The Links
Barbara Gallagher	World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations
Renate Ghannam	Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc.
Celia Gladstone	International Organization of Consumer's Unions
Wilfred Grey	. . .
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